8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

369 633 cally new functions that the old system could not manage, but this phase of internal autonomy was brief. The new government progressively assumed all political functions, and the population of the •642 633 city became diversified. Effective operation of the traditional authority was then limited to the one ethnic group that henceforth furnished its members. Nevertheless, despite its increasingly ambiguous position and more and more purely formal character, despite the fact that it had no genuine initiative, traditional authority continued to play a role in urban life. Old political systems eventually were used by the modern political organizations as one of the props for their own action, and conversely, some traditional authorities attempted to reinforce their declining influence by insinuating themselves into a new political role.

[369] These interactions merit attention. In effect, traditional political forms were taken over into the framework of urban life, though in rudimentary outline. This was the case in ethnic group and ward organization, for example, which involved the institutions of "ward-chiefery" and "race-chiefery." These were often developed spontaneously, sometimes assuming a clandestine nature. In other cases such organizational forms were encouraged and given official recognition. Some were created out of whole cloth by the colonial authority, which saw in them an effective means for regulating populations still poorly integrated into the framework that it was striving to establish.[4] The role of authorities having traditional origins quickly became secondary, of course, but it has raised contradictions that make the study of interpenetration between traditional and modern political frameworks an essential one.

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8: Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[P. 4 C]
[Footnote 4 continued on P 5C - Analyst]

[2] Their territory, at least in the case of the oldest cities, was often the object of a "concession" by local authorities, and was therefore withdrawn from their direct control.

[3] This is the case, for example, of Lagos; regarding Dakar, where the authorities of the "Republic of Lebou" had their seat, *cf.* C. Michel, "L'organisation coutumière (sociale et politique) de la communauté Laboue de Dakar," *Bull. du Comité d'Et. hist. et sci. de l'A.O.F.*, March 17, 1934; and C. Faure, *Histoire de la presqu'ile du Cap-Vert et des origins de Dakar*, Paris, 1914.

[4] G. Balandier, in *Sociologie des Brazzavilles noires* (Paris, 1955) shows clearly the occurrence there of "a transfer onto an urban milieu of leadership agencies already existing in a rural milieu: the

369 633 [113] 649

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[P.5C]

hierarchy of administrator-mayor, administrator-deputy mayor, and ward leader corresponds to the hierarchy of regional leader, district leader, and cantonal leader" (p. 169). The contradictions that he points out in the administrative organization of Brazzaville were sharper still at Dakar: the institution of appointed ward leaders coexisted with that of an elected city government, whose relations with the colonial administration did not differ in principle from those of French city governments with prefectoral authority.

[5] *Cf.* P. Mercier, "Evolution des élites sénégalaises," *Bull. intl. des Sci. soc.*, VIII (#4, '56).

Groupement européen de Dakar: orientations d'une enquête," *Cahiers intl. de Soc.* XIX, 1955.

[6] *Cf. Infra.*, and the Summary Notes Given in P. Mercier, "Aspects de la Société Africaine" and "Le

[7] *Cf.* B. G. M. Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets in South Africa*, London, 1948; and G. Balandier, *Sociologie actuelle de l'Afrique noire*, Paris, 1955.

[113] 369 633 649

369 633 175 [666] in some years. Since the beginning of the 20th century, however, urban citizens have taken an increasingly lively interest in political matters.[18]

563 668 In this restricted political system the relative importance of the roles played by different ethnic groupings and different cities varied continuously. Ethnic dominance, first held by the old European families, passed gradually to mixed-blood society, which came into being in the 18th century and rapidly acquired wealth, education, and influence. By the mid-19th century mixed-bloods made up the majority of the westernized population. But the entry of the emancipated slaves, [166] the first sizable migration toward the cities, quickly reduced the mixed-bloods to a minority. In 1900 they numbered [162] less than 5,000 in the four communes together, though for several decades their economic and political influence remained quite disproportionate to their numbers. 668 Among the cities, St. Louis was [869] predominant until WW I. At the beginning of the century it practically controlled the deputation to the French legislature and the Council-general — and hence the economic life of the territory. Then Gorée-Dakar came to the fore;[19] in 1914 a citizen of Gorée, Blaise Diagne, was elected deputy, followed by Galandou Diouf and Lebou. These men [645] were the first elected Senegalese to win broad support at Paris; Diagne himself was appointed a Secretary of State [a subministerial post, equivalent to a U.S. Under-Secretary]. In Senegal, the au- [642] thority of elected officials — deputies and Councillors-general — increased, and clashes with the civil administration were frequent.[20]

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8: Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[16] Which nearly tripled the number of citizens, who henceforth comprised a body that was more heterogeneous but less completely "assimilated."
[17] Translator's note: the *notables* were influential residents appointed to high political offices in the interior by the local representative of French government.
[18] Especially after 1914, when there appeared a particularly dynamic personnage, Blaise Diagne, whose popularity was widespread.
[19] Dakar absorbed Gorée in 1929. The latter was reestablished as a separate commune in 1936.
[20] At first — at the end of the 19th century — these were conflicts between the merchants, upholding the interests of their agencies, and the civil administration, then engaged in an expansionist policy in West Africa, whose advantages the former could not see. Not until recent years did these conflicts change very much in character.

[P.8C]

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22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

633 The Council has the same functions as that of the colony, but its
645 decisions need the approval (usually formal) of the Standing
[648] Committee of the Governor-General's Council.

The Executive Councils of Senegal and of Dakar are known as *conseils privés*, whereas those of the other colonies are known as *conseils d'administration*.

646 *The Colonial Council of Senegal.* The history of the Colonial
633 Council and of its predecessor, the General Council, has been given above. The earlier council had jurisdiction over the four full communes only, but its successor, which dates from 1920, when all distinctions between colony and protectorate were abolished, has jurisdiction over the whole colony. The inhabitants of the District of Dakar still retain their votes for the Colonial Council, and as a corollary the Council can discuss the affairs of the District. The pretext for this decision was afforded by the provision, in the decrees
[652] of 1924, that the Colonial Budget of Senegal should contain a grant in aid of Dakar; but French writers do not disguise the fact that it was thought not desirable entirely to divorce the District from the rest of Senegal. The decrees of 1924, therefore, expressly left it an integral, though autonomous, part.

646 The Colonial Council is unique in French Africa in that its
666 membership includes Europeans, natives, chiefs, citizens, and subjects. It is, therefore, worthy of detailed mention. Its constitution
● [642] and powers are laid down in a decree of 4 December 1920, as amended by decrees of 30 March 1925, 13 January 1930, and 8 April 1939. This last added the subjects. The colony is divided into four electoral districts, from which members are elected on a population basis. The Council is elected for a term of six years, but, on the recom-
[648] mendation of the Governor, it may be dissolved by the Governor-General. Should a dissolution occur, a new election must be held within three months. There are 62 members in all: 26 citizens elected by citizens, 18 provincial or canton chiefs elected by those of the same rank, and 18 native subjects. These subjects must either have been born in the colony or be descendants of subjects born in
[641] the colony; they must have completed their military service; and they are elected by all other subjects who fulfil the same conditions. In 1929 the European element only numbered one-fifth of the total membership, and the additions made in 1939 will have had the effect of swamping it.

646 The Council meets for a fortnight's session once a year, but it can
643 be summoned by the Governor at any time. It chooses its own

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS 37

646 taxes and all items of the Colonial Budget not fixed by the Governor-
[648] General.
[652] Article 40 of the decree of 1920 forbade any deliberation of political
[642] matters and any resolution concerning them. The power to discuss the budget, however, has nullified this prohibition, and criticism of the Government plays a considerable part in the Council's debates.
[631] The citizens are usually more independent than the chiefs, since the latter owe their appointments to the Governor. It is too early to judge the effect of the recent addition of subjects.

It will be clear from the foregoing that this Colonial Council
[642] performs a very useful function. Although it cannot bring the machinery of government to a standstill, it can seriously hamper the administration. In consequence Senegal has a greater tincture of democracy than any other colony.

Territorial Divisions

635 The colony is divided into fifteen provinces (Fig. 52), some of
634 them subdivided into districts. Their names and the names of their headquarters towns are as follows.

Province	*Headquarters*	*Area in square miles*	*District headquarters*
Bakel	Bakel	8,755	..
Baol	Diourbel	1,714	..
Bas Sénégal	St. Louis	2,351	Dagana
Bignona	Bignona	1,699	Diouloulou
Djoloff	Linguéré	6,275	..
Haute Gambie	Kédougou	5,212	..
Kolda	Kolda	5,599	..
Louga	Louga	3,886	..
Matam	Matam	10,116	..
Podor	Podor	4,857	..
Sedhiou	Sedhiou	2,703	..
Sine-Saloum	Kaolack	10,228	Fatik, Foundiougne, Kaffrine
Tambacounda	Tambacounda	9,998	..
Thiès	Thiès	2,707	M'Bour, Tivaouane
Ziguinchor	Ziguinchor	1,120	Oussouye

635 The four provinces of Bignona, Kolda, Sedhiou, and Ziguinchor are grouped together as the Casamance Territory, at the head of which is a Session Administrator, or Chief Commissioner, residing at Ziguinchor.

In almost all provinces the provincial Commissioner is assisted by a Council of Notables (Plate 113).